

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 00504 01 OF 03 240059Z

63

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 DRC-01 RSC-01

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R 231641Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ATHENS 504

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP, GR

SUBJECT: CODEL FRASER

REF: ATHENS 0483

1. SUMMARY. CONGRESSMAN DONALD M. FRASER AND HFAC STAFFER CLIFFORD P. HACKETT VISITED ATHENS JANUARY 19-21 IN COURSE OF WHICH THEY MET WITH ALMOST ALL SIGNIFICANT FIGURES OF OLD POLITICAL WORLD. OTHER ACTIVITIES INCLUDED VISIT TO HOMEPORTING SITES, APPOINTMENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER, RECEPTION AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE AND WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS WITH EMBASSY COUNTRY TEAM AT SPECIAL WORKING BREAKFAST (ATHENS PRIELM NEGATIVE STAND WHICH CODEL ENTERTAINED UPON ARRIVAL ATHENS VIS-A-VIS USG POLICY TOWARD GREECE CLEARLY STRENGTHENED BY THEIR MEETINGS WITH POLITICAL PERSONALITIES HERE, AND ON RETURN TO US FRASER PROBABLY WILL PUSH FOR POLICY REVIEW. BEFORE DEPARTURE, FRASER STATED HIS APPRECIATION FOR EMBASSY EFFORTS HIS BEHALF AND ASSERTED HIS SATISFACTION WITH ALL ASPECTS HIS VISIT. END SUMMARY.

2. CONGRESSMAN DONALD M. FRASER AND HFAC CONSULTANT CLIFFORD P. HACKETT ARRIVED ATHENS LATE AFTERNOON JANUARY 19 AND WERE MET AT AIRPORT BY DCM BRANDIN AND EMBASSY CONTROL OFFICER COLLINS. UPON ARRIVAL ATHENS HILTON HOTEL CODEL WELCOMED BY FORMER PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTIES EMMANUEL KOTHRIS (FDK) AND THEOHARIS RENDIS (FDK). IT APPARENT FROM ENSUING CONVERSATION THAT THIS GROUP TO BE JOINED BY  
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 00504 01 OF 03 240059Z

FORMER CU DEPUTY ALEXANDROS SPANORRIGAS LATER THAT NIGHT

FOR DINNER. CODEL DECLINED USE EMBASSY CAR FOR WEEKEND CHOOSING TO MEET TRANSPORTATION NEEDS BY RENTED VOLKSWAGEN. TENOR THIS INITIAL MEETING CODEL AND EMBASSY PERSONNEL RELAXED AND FRIENDLY.

3. MORNING JANUARY 20 EMBASSY CONTROL OFFICER AND TWO NAVAL OFFICERS FROM FLEET SUPPORT OFFICE ACCOMPANIED CODEL ON TOUR ARRANGED AT CODEL'S REQUEST OF HOMEPORTING SITES AT MEGARA AND ELEFSIS. AT MEGARUA CODEL WALKED AROUND SITE AND SHOWED SPECIAL INTEREST IN AREA WHERE CARRIER WOULD BE MOORED AND WHERE DOCKING FACILITIES MIGHT SUBSEQUENTLY BE CONSTRUCTED UNDER NATO COST-SHARING ARRANGEMENT. AT ELEFSIS, CODEL MET WITH COMMODORE OF HOME-PORTED DESTROYER SQUADRON IN WARDROOM OF FLAGSHIP AND DISCUSSED EFFECTS OF HOMEPORTING ON NAVY FAMILIES.

4. SOME SPECIAL POINTS OF INTEREST EXPRESSED ON HOMEPORTING FOLLOW;

A) REASONS WHY GOG WOULD NOT PERMIT USE OF PHALERON BAY OR BERTHING IN PIRAEUS FOR CARRIER.

B) CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING GOG RELUCTANCE TO PERMIT FULL USE OF ELEFSIS AIR BASE FOR CARRIER AIRWING IN CONTEXT PHAST II.

C) WHETHER PACE OF HOMEPORTING NEGOTIATIONS OR ATTITUDES OF GOG TOWARDS HOMEPORTING HAD CHANGED AS RESULT NOVEMBER 25 COUP.

IN COURSE OF DISCUSSION WITH DESTROYER SQUADRON COMMODORE AT ELEFSIS (COMMODORE'S WIFE ALSO PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSION) MANY QUESTIONS INVOLVED ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS HOMEPORTED PERSONNEL RE THEIR RESIDENCE IN GREECE. WHILE COMMODORE AND WIFE ADMITTED EXISTENCE NUMBER OF PROBLEMS, BOTH CONCLUDED THAT NAVY HOMEPORTED FAMILIES HAD ADJUSTED WELL AND IN MAJORITY CASES HELD POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR LIFE HERE.

5. IN EARLY AFTERNOON JANUARY 20 CODEL HAD 75-MINUTE MEETING WITH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TETENES. WHILE EMBASSY OFFICER DID NOT ACCOMPANY, CODEL DID MENTION SOME TOPICS DISCUSSED. IN ADDITION TO POINTS MENTIONED PARA 6 REFTEL, FRASER STATED THAT MINISTER HAD EXPRESSED THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 00504 01 OF 03 240059Z

FEELING THAT HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY SO MUCH OPPOSITION VOICED RE GREEK GOVERNMENT BY OFFICIAL CIRCLES USG. HE ALSO INDICATED, IN RESPONSE TO CODEL QUESTION, THAT VRADYNI CLOSED AS RESULT PERSONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PUBLISHER ATHANASSIADES AND GOG BUT EXPRESSED LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OVER REASON BEHIND CLOSURE OF CHRISTIANIKI. AT CONCLUSION MEETING, CODEL HAD LUNCHEON AT GRANDE BRETAGNE HOTEL WITH FORMER POLITICAL PERSONALITIES UNIDENTIFIED

TO EMBASSY.

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 00504 02 OF 03 240058Z

63

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 DRC-01 RSC-01

/026 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 ATHENS 504

6. SATURDAY EVENING CODEL ATTENDED RECEPTION HOSTED BY AMBASSADOR TO WHICH 22 FORMER POLITICIANS INVITED INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES ERE, CU AND FDK. AMONG POLITICIANS IN ATTENDANCE WERE KOTHRIS, AVEROFF, ALLAMANIS, SPANORRIGAS, TSALDARIS, MITSOTAKIS, PAPASPYROU, TSOUDEROS AND KEFALOYANNIS. GUESTS SEEMED APPRECIATE OPPORTUNITY MEET WITH CODEL AT RESIDENCE, EVEN THOUGH MANY (IF NOT ALL), UNDOUBTEDLY MET WITH THEM PRIVATELY AS WELL. ATMOSPHERE OF RECEPTION RELAXED AND FRIENDLY. AT CONCLUSION RECEPTION CODEL HAD LATE DINNER WITH EMBASSY PAO AND ATHENS LAWYER (AND LAW PROFESSOR ATHENS UNIVERSITY) DIMITRIS GOFAS.

7. CODEL DECLINED EMBASSY OVERTURES FOR ASSISTANCE FOR ACTIVITIES ON SUNDAY AND MADE OWN PLANS. WE ASSUME FURTHER MEETINGS FORMER POLITICAL PERSONALITIES OCCURRED.

8. MONDAY MORNING, JANUARY 21 AMBASSADOR HOSTED WORKING BREAKFAST AT EMBASSY WHICH CODEL AND KEY MEMBERS COUNTRY TEAM PRESENT. WIDE-RANGING CONVERSATION REPORTED IN REFTTEL. DURING COURSE OF BREAKFAST, HACKETT LEFT ROOM AND PAID OFFICE VISIT TO EMBASSY NAVATT UNDER PRETEXT OF DELIVERING A PERSONAL LETTER FROM A FRIEND. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO ORALLY PRESENT LIST OF NINE QUESTIONS TO WHICH HE REQUESTED ANSWERS. QUESTIONS AND SUMMARIZED ANSWERS FOLLOW.

A) Q: IS THERE A SPLIT IN USN BETWEEN JUNIOR AND SENIOR OFFICERS RE HOMEPORTING?

A: NO SPLIT IN NAVY. GIVEN THE PROPOSED REDUCTION  
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 00504 02 OF 03 240058Z

IN NUMBER OF CARRIERS NEED FOR HOMEPORTING  
UNDERSTOOD BY ALL.

B) Q: WHY HOMEPORTING AT ALL?

A: HOMEPORTING NECESSARY SINCE TOTAL NUMBER OF  
CARRIERS REDUCED FLEET-WIDE AND TWO CARRIERS  
TO BE MAINTAINED SIXTH FLEET.

C) Q: DOES USN REALLY REQUIRE TWO CARRIERS IN MED?

A: NATIONAL AND NATO MISSION OF U.S. FLEET REQUIRES  
TWO CARRIERS IN MED.

D) Q: WHAT IS STATUS RUSSIAN CARRIER?

A: I REALLY DON'T KNOW.

E) Q: WHAT LEVERAGE DOES HELLENIC AIR FORCE POSSESS  
VIS-A-VIS USN RE HOMEPORTING?

A: NONE TO MY KNOWLEDGE. UNDERSTAND USN AND  
HAF CURRENTLY NEGOTIATING BASE RIGHTS.

F) Q: REQUEST PERSONAL ASSESSMENT NAVATT RE  
ADMIRAL ZUMWALT'S POLICIES.

A: POLICIES REFLECT BEST POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO  
REQUIREMENT OF MAINTAINING MODERN, FLEXIBLE  
NAVAL FORCE. REENLISTMENT RATES ARE UP AND A  
STRONGER, LEANER NAVY BECOMING A REALITY. HE  
HAS DONE REMARKABLE JOB CONSIDERING BUDGETARY  
PROBLEMS HE MUST CONTEND WITH.

G) Q: DOES NAVATT SEE ANY SOLUTION TO GREEK  
GOVERNMENT CRISIS?

A: OUT OF MY AREA OF COMPETENCE. SUGGEST DISCUSS  
WITH EMBASSY.

H) Q: HOD DID MAY, 1973 MUTINY AFFECT GREEK NAVY?

A: DUE TO DISCHARGE OF APPROXIMATELY 50 OFFICERS,  
THERE IS SMALL REVERSE HUMP. GREEK NAVY  
CAN CARRY OUT ITS NATO MISSION.

I) Q: CAN FORMER PM KANELLOPOULOS FORM A GOVERNMENT  
OF NATIONAL UNITY?

A: OUT OF MY AREA OF COMPETENCE. SUGGEST DISCUSS  
WITH EMBASSY.

9. DCM BRANDIN AND EMBOFF COLLINS ACCOMPANIED CODEL  
TO AIRPORT FOR 1120 DEPARTURE FOR PARIS, JANUARY 21.  
DURING RIDE FROM EMBASSY, FRASER STATED HE DID NOT HAVE  
OPPORTUNITY DURING VISIT TO DISCUSS LABOR MATTERS OR  
MEET WITH TRADE UNION OFFICIALS. EMBOFF COLLINS  
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PAGE 03 ATHENS 00504 02 OF 03 240058Z

THEN OFFERED HIM CAPSULIZED SUMMARY CURRENT STATUS OF GREEK LABOR MOVEMENT AND NATURE OF ITS RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT. AT AIRPORT TERMINAL, MEMBER CODEL EXCUSED HIMSELF FOR BRIEF PERIOD "TO MAKE PHONE CALL". EMBASSY OFFICER DETERMINED THAT PHONE CALL CONSISTED OF INTERVIEW WHICH FRASER GRANTED TO NEW YORK TIMES CORRESPONDENT MARIO MODIANO. CODEL ALSO MET LONDON GUARDIAN CORRESPONDENT DAVID TONGE IN ANOTHER PART AIRPORT AND GAVE TAPED INTERVIEW. IN WRITTEN NOTES PREPARED BY MR. HACKETT PRIOR TO THESE TWO INTERVIEWS (WHICH EMBOFF LATE SAW) FOLLOWING POINTS MADE: A) WILL RECOMMEND COMPLETE REVIEW US POLICY TOWARD GREECE. PRESENT US COURSE HAS CEASED BEING EFFECTIVE IN EITHER SHORT OR LONG TERM;

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 00504 03 OF 03 240101Z

63

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 DRC-01 RSC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 ATHENS 504

B) ONE CANNOT BE OPTIMISTIC OVER SHORT-TERM COURSE IN GREECE WHOSE CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE CLOSELY TIED WITH POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY; C) THESE CONCLUSIONS BASED ON WIDEST POSSIBLE MEETINGS WITHIN GREEK SOCIETY.

10. BBC EVENING JANUARY 21 CARRIED "DEPARTURE STATEMENT" BY FRASER WHICH EVIDENTLY BASED ON INTERVIEW GIVEN TO TONGE. CHIEF POINTS WERE A) FRASER WISHES CHANGE US POLICY TOWARD GREECE SINCE US THOROUGHLY IDENTIFIED WITH "MILITARY DICTATORSHIP"; B) FRASER ACKNOWLEDGED EMBASSY EFFORTS CONVINCE REGIME RETURN TO PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY BUT HAS SEEN NO POSITIVE RESULTS; C) RECOMMEND USG SUSPEND PROGRESS PHASE II HOMEPORTING. FULL TEXT FORWARDED BY AIRGRAM. EMBASSY HAS NOT SEEN REPORT FRASER INTERVIEW WITH MODIANO.

11. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBASSY CONTROL OFFICER MR. HACKETT EXPRESSED NUMBER OF VIEWS, MOST SIGNIFICANT OF WHICH FOLLOW.

A) PROPOSED SOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT NATIONAL UNITY IN ORDER TO BE MATERIALIZED REQUIRES "OUTSIDE PUSH". SPECIFICALLY, MOST GREEKS LOOKING TOWARD USG/EMBASSY TO PROVIDE THAT NEEDED IMPETUS. ALTHOUGH HACKETT CLAIMED TO HAVE POINTED OUT TO GREEK POLITICIANS THAT EMBASSY LACKS ABILITY TO CHANGE SITUATION, NEVERTHELESS FACT THAT GREEKS STILL BELIEVE THE CONTRARY ARGUES THE NEED FOR SOME VISIBLE US EFFORT. ONE SUGGESTION WAS FOR EMBASSY APPROACH SENIOR GREEK ARMY OFFICERS AND ENCOURAGE THEM

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 00504 03 OF 03 240101Z

TO "DEAL WITH IOANNIDES".

B) HACKETT FEELS THAT VERY FACT FORMER POLITICIANS WILLING TO SPEAK OF GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IS ACCOMPLISHMENT IN ITSELF AND DRAMATIC SIGN OF PROGRESS AND REALISM IN POLITICAL WORLD.

C) MR. HACKETT EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT HE FOUND SPLIT OF OPINION AMONG FORMER POLITICIANS ON QUESTION WHETHER NOVEMBER 25 COUP GROUP REPRESENTED POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENT. HE INDICATED THOSE WHO OPTIMISTIC FEEL PAPADOPOULOS HAD CONSTITUTED A SIGNIFICANT ROADBLOCK, AND HIS REMOVAL A SUBSTANTIAL SCHIEVEMENT. THOSE WHO ARE PESSIMISTIC BELIEVE IOANNIDES GROUP IS EVEN HARsher THAN PREDECESSOR.

12. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS, FRASER EXPRESSED INTEREST TO EMBOFF OVER RECENT CONSTITUENT ACTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST IN STATUS OF STUDENTS AND NATURE OF THEIR DEMANDS. HE INDICATED TO EMBOFF THAT WHILE HE HAD HIS OWN STRONG VIEWS ON USG POLICY TOWARD GREECE HE NEVERTHELESS WILLING TO HEAR ALL SIDES OF STORY.

13. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBASSY PAO, HACKETT STATED PURPOSE OF VISIT WAS TO "OBTAIN CROSS-SECTION GREEK OPINION ON POLITICAL SITUATION". HE EMPHASIZED SPECIAL INTEREST IN STUDENT PROBLEM AND ASSERTED THAT FRASER HAD INTEREST IN "STRATIFICATION OF POLITICAL GROUPINGS IN MILITARY". HACKETT ASKED PAO FOR NAMES OF PERSONS IN POLITICAL, ACADEMIC AND PRESS WORLD REPRESENTING SPECTRUM OF OPINION. PAO ALSO GAINED IMPRESSION THAT APPOINTMENTS OF CODEL WITH GREEK PERSONALITIES HAD BEEN ARRANGED PRINCIPALLY BY (AND OFTEN IN PRESENCE OF) ALEXANDROS XYDIS WHO EVIDENTLY PLAYED PROMINENT ROLE IN VISIT. PAO REPORTED THAT BOTH MEMBERS CODEL DEFENDED ANDREAS PAPANDREOU WHENEVER HIS NAME SURFACED AND THAT

THE "BRISTLED" WHEN NEGATIVE OPINIONS VOICED AGAINST HIM.  
PAO ALSO REPORTED THAT HACKETT WIDELY DISSEMINATED TO  
GREEK CONTACTS COPIES OF REPORTS OF SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS  
ON HOMEPORTING. HACKETT ALSO INDICATED TO PAO THAT  
SUBCOMMITTEE WAS AWARE OF AMBASSADOR TASCA'S HOME LEAVE  
PLANS FOR MARCH AND ITS PLANS FOR HIM TO TESTIFY.  
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PAGE 03 ATHENS 00504 03 OF 03 240101Z

14. BEFORE DEPARTURE, CONGRESSMAN FRASER EXPRESSED TO  
AMBASSADOR HIS DEEP APPRECIATION OF AMBASSADOR'S ASSISTANCE  
RELATING TO VISIT AND COMPLETE SATISFACTION EMBASSY'S  
ROLE IN THAT REGARD. WHILE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT CODEL  
LIKELY TO EXPRESS ITSELF IN NEGATIVE TERMS RE US POLICY  
TOWARD GREECE AND PERHAPS CRITICIZE USG AND EMBASSY FOR  
NOT PURSUING DIFFERENT COURSE VIS-A-VIS RELATIONS WITH  
GREEK POLITICAL WORLD, IT APPEARS THAT TO LARGE  
DEGREE THEIR VIEWS ALREADY FIRM BEFORE ARRIVAL AND  
CONVERSATIONS HERE.  
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